l: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 R11 Georgia R11

dinars and more; but the red are cheaper. Dresses of these furs are worn by the kings of the Arabs and the Barbarians; and they form part of their vanity; for they are considered more valuable than the furs of sable, hermeline and the like. The kings wear tiaras, kaftans and robes of these furs. If kings have their kaftans and robes lined with black Bortasiun foxes' fur it is excusable (although it is against the divine laws)." [1] 439

It would be interesting to follow the influence of the fur trade on the development of industrial civilization. In northern Asia and in North America the little furry beasts have led men on to Empire; and beyond the trappers' gins and the road to world power lies perhaps "part of the vanity" of kings, but more potently the vanity of women in their furs, for in that most primitive manner of clothing, those primitives are themselves most beautiful.

Such barbarous products—furs and wax and honey—were the stable traffic of the northern tribes, and in these prime products the peoples of the Caucasus had their share; [2] but they traded also other articles, at once, of greater value, rarer and more varied.

The peoples of the Caucasus have been noted since Classical times for their skill in the manufacture of textiles. Under the Caliphate, Caucasian textiles had a great reputation. Of all, Circassian stuffs were most sought after, and el-Masudi in his description of the Kashak praises both their persons and their fabrics. 288 ●

"They are, among all the nations whom we have mentioned, the cleanest and the most handsome in their appearance, both men and women. They have good persons, are slender round the waist, have well-shaped hips, and are of a comely form. They dress in white, in Greek brocade, in cloth of scarlet colour and other sorts of cloth or gilt brocade. In their country various sorts of cloth are manufactured of hemp and other materials; one sort is called et-Talli cloth; it is finer than damask (silk) and stouter than (our) hemp cloth. One piece of this sort of cloth costs about ten *dinars* and is exported to the neighbouring Muslim countries. The same cloth is exported from other nations who live near the Kashak; but the best comes from them." [3]

Derbend was the distributing centre for the Caucasian textile industry. "*From it*", says ibn-Haukal, "*they send linen clothes to all parts of Aran and Azerbaijan. Here they also weave tapestry and carpets.*" [4]

[1] el-Masudi, I, 412. [2] Cf. Procopius, II, xxviii, 29; el-Idrisi, II, 375.
[3] el-Masudi, I, 437. (For Classical references to the celebrated linen of Colchis, see Strabo, Book XI, Cap. II, 17; cf. also Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, II, 148, and note 1).
[4] ibn-Haukal, p. 159.

l: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

THE LIFE OF GEORGIA

288 Marco Polo, writing of Georgia at the beginning of the thirteenth century, observes that

> "silk is produced in great abundance. They also weave cloth of gold and all kinds of very fine silk stuffs. The country . . . has indeed not lack of anything, and the people live by trade and handicrafts." [1]

Again, in the fifteenth century, Josaphat Barbaro, writing of Shirvan and Aran after the troubled days of the Mongol domination, can still note their manufacture of "*fustians, lynen cloths, fryses, many rugges, and a lytel sylke . . . which they conveyed into the Sea Maggiore and to the towns about*".[2]

248 The mediæval Caucasus was no less important as a centre both of the dyeing industry and of the production of the raw materials of that industry for export. Such necessaries of the dyers' art as acorns, gall-nuts and vine and mulberry leaves, were, of course, to be found in abundance in the forests of Georgia, and in the orchards of Shirvan and Aran. But more valuable than these common products were the insects inhabiting oak-trees from which the mediæval dyers made "the beautiful colour called *kirmiz*",[3] and the madder and saffron which was grown in large quantities in Georgia, Shirvan and Aran. These two vegetable products were of vital importance to the dyeing and weaving industries of the countries of Islam. Madder—and particularly its roots—was one of the plants most necessary to the coloration of rugs. Used alone, it produced many shades of red from a rich scarlet to a gentle shade of pink; and the red most common in Persian rugs was produced by a mixture of alum-water, grape-juice and madder. Applied over indigo, madder effected many shades of brown, while the rich Persian blue was obtained by the reverse process; combined with indigo and other ingredients madder gave many variations of purple; diluted with milk and water and sour grape juice it obtained violet. Again, saffron, with all its variations of yellow and orange, gave, when mixed with indigo, many of the shades of green.

el-Idrissi states that

> "in all the country of Ran, that is to say from Bab-el-Abwab as far as Tiflis, madder grows on the ground, and they collect great quantities of it. This substance is transported by way of the Caspain Sea to Jorjan,[4] and from there on the back (of beasts of burden) into India. It is superior in quality to all other kinds of madder".[5]

Saffron likewise was exported from Derbend.

[1] Polo (Yule, I, p. 50). [2] Barbaro, p. 86. [3] ibn-Haukal, pp. 160–2.
[4] Jorjan, ancient Hyrcania, called later Ghilan. [5] el-Idrissi, II, 330.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

and venerated in Persian traditions far older than the Safavi dynasty. 175X

By the latter half of the seventeenth century, one of those recurrent crises of decay which seem to be endemic in despotic institutions, was already carrying the Safavids to their bloody end: and in Turkey the reforms of the Kuprulu viziers were not going to check that disastrous cracking which before the century was out first heralded the breaking of the Ottoman Empire (Treaty of Carlovich, 1696). In the Caucasian lands there was a stagnation in politics; the conquerors were falling into fattened age, the conquered were still cowed and always quarrelling. And so, in the Caucasus in the last period of Islamic power we see much the same conditions as in the first period, a thousand years before.

The loose administration of the Persian Empire in the northern provinces constituted three vilayets. The northernmost was Shirvan which included the old cities of Derbend, Baku and Shamakha. The second was Aran, which comprised the country between the southern parts of Shirvan and the Araks. Its capital was Erivan, and it included the Armenian country as far as Bayazid, and such Georgian districts as Dmanisi and Algeti. The Georgian vice-royalty of Kartli and Kakheti formed, nominally, part of Aran. The third of the northern provinces was Azerbaijan with the residence of the governor at Tabriz.[1] The prosperity of the Muslim towns of the eastern Caucasus was still great. Of Aran, the ambassador of Holstein wrote in 1662, that "*it is one of the Noblest and the Richest Provinces of all Persia and in this particularly, that it produces more Silk than any other*".[2] Barda'a, Baylakan and Kabala had not survived the devastations of the Timurid wars; and Areshi, another important centre on the borders of Shirvan and Kakheti, had never recovered from its destruction during the Turkish invasion of the Caspian provinces. But Baku and Derbend, Shamakha and Shaki, Erivan and Ganja, were still great commercial places. Contarini in the fifteenth century had declared Shamakha to be a better city than Tabriz.[3] Olearius describes its bazaar, its schools, its mosques and baths, and says of its production of textiles, that it was so great that "*Women, nay, very Children, make a shift to get their living there by spinning and preparing the silk and cotton for the workmen*".[4] Evliya, who hoped that the Turks might yet recover the city, says that— [511] [288] [288]

[1] Olearius, p. 197. [2] *Idem.* [3] Contarini, *V. in P.*, p. 144. [4] Olearius, p. 222.

1: Allen H-4 (no date) 1932 RI1 Georgia RI1

175X "there are forty caravanserai, in each of which many thousand tomans of wares are deposited . . . the coffee-houses are meeting-places for wits and learned men; the air is mild and the land fertile; rice, cotton, seven sorts of grapes, pears and water-melons are in great perfection. . . .[1] Shamakha is much frequented by Chinese, Tartars, Kalmucks and Russians, who bring different wares in exchange for which they take salt, naptha, safian and silk".[2]

The exploitation of the naptha deposits at Baku were carried out under a royal lease and the oil was sent all over Persia.[3] [288] Ganja was famous for its gardens and its silk "*and the horse-shoes of Genje are not less famous than its silk*".[4]

439 The Persian provinces of the eastern Caucasus were essentially part of an economic system which centred round the Caspian basin. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the military control of the Caspian, to the extent that any was exercised, was in the hands of the Persians and there was a complete freedom of trade,[5] in contrast to the strict monopoly which was exercised by the Turks in the Black Sea; and this freedom no doubt goes to explain the relative prosperity of the Caspian littoral countries by contrast with the lands draining to the Black Sea.[6]

During the period of Persian hegemony, between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, Kartli and Kakheti were drawn into the economic orientation towards the Caspian, and after the closing of the Black Sea to the Latins, the old economic unity of the Georgian Kingdom, with its attraction to the Black Sea littoral, very largely disappeared. Particularly during the period of the Mukhranian vice-royalty, Tiflis became almost a Persian town, like Shamakha and Erivan and the two provinces dependent on it shared in the relative prosperity of the Caspian countries under Safavid rule. Writers like Evliya regarded Tiflis really as a Persian town; the abundance and cheapness of its good things and the health-giving properties of its famous baths became a

[1] Evliya, II, 160.
[2] *Idem*., II, 163.
[3] *Idem*., II, 163.
[4] *Idem*., II, 154.
[5] *Idem*., II, 164, "thousands of boats and vessels carry on trade, but they are all afraid of Russian Chaiks, with whom they fight. The vessels are not large ships like those of the White (Mediterranean), Black and Red Seas, but small boats of reeds, with small guns; There are no men-of-war or great Caravellas like those of the White Sea, which are necessary to meet the vessels of the Franks in the Archipelago . . . such great means of defence are not required on the Caspian, as there are only Cossack boats to be met with."
[6] The Russians in the middle of the eighteenth century began to develop a monopolistic policy with serious damage to British trade with Persia which was growing up via the Black Sea Ports and Astrakhan. The Russians subsequently pursued their monopolistic theories in the Caucasus, and so considerably retarded economic development in those lands during the nineteenth century.